

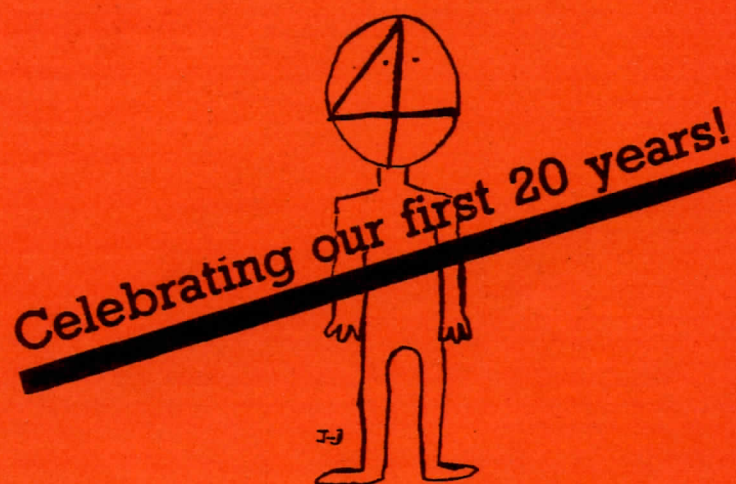
FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit

1986

NUMBER FIFTEEN

£1



Feature:	The New Radicalism — LEOPOLD KOHR	3
Editorial:	THE STATEMENT OF INTENT as printed 20 years ago	7
Feature:	Frontier Conditions — DAVID C. MORROW	10
Letter:	THE CHARM OF NUCLEAR POWER	12
Feature:	A New Intelligentsia — PETER CADOGAN	13
Feature:	The New Ecology Movement — KIRKPATRICK SALE	15
Books:	STEPHEN MEREDITH reviews 'Making It Public' by Dexter Whitfield and 'Due South' by Jeremy Hill & Hilary Scannell; JOHN PAPWORTH reviews 'Far From Paradise' by John Seymour & Herbert Giradet	18
Letters:	PETER W. ETHERDEN — Cambridge, Mass. * W. NOWICK GRAY — Argenta, B.C. * BILL SYKES — Surrey * INYAT HASSAN — Lahore * TOM GRECO — New York * JOSEPH S. ROSEN — Mass.	21
Feature:	The American Green Movement — LORNA SALZMAN	24
Feature:	It Works — MICHAEL ZWERIN	25
Letters:	C. DAHLGREEN — Illinois * EMILIA HAZELIP — France	28
Column:	FOURTH WORLD SPECTATOR	29

FRONTIER CONDITIONS

David C. Morrow

The author holds degrees in psychology and English and has worked in land survey, medical science and water technology. Wonders why New York welfare recipients live in the Waldorf whilst poor rural Texans freeze.

Before I ever heard of *The Fourth World Review* or any of its contributors I decided Texas would be better off independant. I wasn't completely alone. Congressman Jim Collins claimed he wanted to hold a plebiscite to find out whether Texans wanted President Carter to renegotiate the treaty by which the Texas Republic had joined the United States. An article of mine on the merits of independance in *The Dallas Morning News* (June 4, 1978) brought favorable responses, including long distance calls from scattered secessionists.

Nevertheless, there seemed so few of us, including Collins, who soon retired without seeing his plebiscite, that I thought I had to research the subject unaided. American media is thoroughly statist, though its public image requires token bows to scholars, minorities, and dissenters against other governments. Native American activist Vine Deloria, Jr. details in *The Nations Within* the implications of a 1954 ruling by a Federal judge in Arizona that Indian tribes have "a status higher than the states."

Otherwise, media, television and newspapers especially, take a dim view of the subject. Often they smear as terrorists even largely peaceful separatists like most of those in Quebec. If possible, they either don't report or relegate to back pages news such as that of Alaska's recent Statehood Commission. Finally, they treat the subject, Collins' project, for instance, with an amusement whose meaning is occasionally revealed as it was in an early 1981 edition of *The Fourth Worth Star-Telegram*. Responding therein to a reader's question, Texas Christian University history professor W. C. Nunn admitted that the United States has no law against secession while insisting that the issue was forever decided by military force.

In search of a well planned model of peaceful secession, I wrote Quebec's Separatist Prime Minister and the Governor of Alaska for their governments' latest programs. In response, M. Levesque's assistant, Claude Mallette sent me, along with a short outline of his nation's enduring struggle, an English version of the 1980 edition of the *Programme Officiel Du Parti Québécoise* that was adopted at the Seventh National Convention in June of 1978.

The *Programme*, which reads much like other North American political documents, presents a thorough outline of the process of converting a provincial to a national government. Much of it concerns economic matters specific to Quebec — matters of the kind that can divide even people of a single culture — and it mandates both the return of now Federal territories once held by France and the dominance of Franco-American language and culture. It also prescribes some decidedly small government measures that could conflict with these aims.

Part One, Chapter VIII states the Independence Party's intention to "increase local authority" by returning to municipalities certain powers held by the Province, "... favouring the creation, on demand, of neighborhood councils... elected by universal suffrage..." with one council per district. All cities would be limited in their power over inhabitants. For example, financial business would be public, as in the requirement that cities publish the reason for awarding contracts when the recipient is not the lowest bidder.

Because it determines independant Quebec's relations with Native American

Frontier Conditions

communities, Part One, Chapter X is of particular interest. Though better than many treaties, it is also typical. While clear title to tribal lands is (as always and by what authority?) guaranteed to indigenous peoples along with the right to conduct their own affairs in their own languages and according to their own customs, Quebec's regional administrations are (as always) given the power to regulate the natives family law, hunting and fishing, tourist industry, and other affairs that would seem to be exactly the things guaranteed in the same section to native control. Though changes affecting Indian and Inuit groups would have to be approved by their own chosen leaders, what happens if they don't approve?

Another source of difficulty lies in Part Four, Chapter II, which requires that Quebec's official language be French and that all business, educational, and media transactions be conducted in that tongue unless special permission is granted to use another. Would small government attitudes combined with resulting *Programme* provisions overcome Franco-American cultural imperialism, or would Quebec be a smaller but no less domineering version of its English speaking neighbours? We can only hope to find out.

The Alaska Statehood Commission was approved in August, 1980, as the Governor's Press Secretary, Chuck Kleeschulte wrote me that October, "by a thin margin" of voters. Its basis lies in such economic problems vis-a-vis the Federal government as the Jones Act, legislation intended to protect the American merchant marine that has proven detrimental to the commerce of Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, and the Federal division of Alaskan land: 59 per cent to itself, 29 per cent to Alaska, 11 per cent to native tribes, and 1 per cent to private owners. Though the Commission's purpose was to recommend changes in Alaska's relationship to the United States, Governor Hammond, Kleeschulte insisted, "forcefully asked it to reject even the consideration of secession."

Nevertheless, the Commission's final report, issued in January, 1983 under the title *More Perfect Union: A Plan for Action* is a promising and profoundly radical document for the United States. Since it proposes to limit Federal power and make Local, State, and Federal governments co-equals, not as theoretical speculations but through concrete measures, it has received almost no news coverage outside of Alaska. *More Perfect Union* lists twenty recommendations as to how this would be accomplished, including the creation of a legal fund to "oppose illegal and coercive federal restrictions," the establishment of a habit of attending to "the requests from within Alaska for greater self-control of lives," and the refusal of seemingly beneficial yet ultimately burdensome Federal grants. This is the first official American document of its kind at least since the South's post-Reconstruction State constitutions and it signals a desire on all levels to reduce the power of central government.

That such ideas are held, even put into effect throughout Canada and the United States by persons ranging from private individuals such as myself through elected and appointed officials speaks for itself. However much proponents of centralisation and aggrandisement may wish to smother them, they can only manipulate and disrupt the flow of information without violating their avowed purposes and thus their mandate to rule. But the fact that I had to undertake my study of secession on my own before I heard of the Fourth World concept, illustrates their success at this as much as it does the grassroots nature of decentralisation sentiment. No doubt plenty of Texans, and others, would consider separation if they did not lack information and awareness.

Texas, like other North American nations, is no longer a primitive frontier, but a modern industrial state. In one respect, however, all of us still live under frontier con-

Frontier Conditions

ditions. A hundred years and more ago the pioneers struggled with a natural wilderness they needed to subdue; isolated, often unaware of each other's sometimes contradictory efforts, they pursued with ultimate success their distinct yet common goals. Today many pursue in isolation often little known efforts to subdue the oppressive and unnatural Federal wilderness that surrounds and endangers us. What is needed now is more effective and independant communication that will bring useful information and ideas to us all. People would more easily sort out and use appropriate concepts and integrate them into local conditions, and avoid the fatal traps that might await Quebec or the media blackout that has hidden the Alaska Commission.■



FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit

1987

NUMBER TWENTY-ONE

£1 \$2



Announcement:	SIXTH ASSEMBLY – THE FOURTH WORLD	2
Editorial:	GREEN STRATEGY	3
Features:	NON-VIOLENT SECESSION – David C. Morrow	6
	DINING WITH IVAN ILLICH – Karl Birjukov	15
	CONFESSIONS OF A LATTER DAY	
	LUDDITE – Katherine Temple	23
Books:	BLUEPRINT FOR A GREEN PLANET – John Seymour & Herbert Girardet	
	PEOPLE & PLANET: Alternative Nobel Prize Speeches – Edited by Tom Woodhouse	
	GREEN BRITAIN OR INDUSTRIAL WASTELAND – Edited by Edward Goldsmith & Nicholas Hildyard Reviewed by John Papworth	9
Quote:	E. F. Schumacher	12
Column:	FOURTH WORLD SPECTATOR	25
Letters:	JOHN MACNAMARA – Ireland * NOWICK GRAY – Canada * MARY CROWTHER – Norfolk * R. G. SILSON – Herts * NOEL THOMAS – Wales * JACK RICHARDS – Suffolk * DOUGLAS M. C. MACEWAN – Kent * JOHN ORGILL – Sheffield	18

NON-VIOLENT SECESSION

David C. Morrow

Sooner or later people who like to style themselves as 'radical' really must tackle the imposing problem of the restructuring of the vast empires of power which now dominate the world. It is the rivalries of these empires which have wrought so much military, economic, ecological and social havoc in our time and made the 20th century one of the most destructive and dangerous eras in all human history. Today they stand like malevolent giants blocking the gateway to what may yet be a future of unparalleled progress and human splendour. How they are to be compounded into small, human-scale units susceptible to genuine human control is now the imposing question mark which hangs over all human striving in the modern world. David C. Morrow reports here on some of the small beginnings of an impetus which needs to be nurtured with hope if the modern world is ever to be saved from its thrall to forms of power which, if allowed to continue, can only destroy civilisation.

It isn't easy for one person, especially a U.S. Southerner interested in what amounts to secession, to gauge trends and opinions about it, especially since, as a result of the Civil War national authorities appear to champion individuals' rights against the supposed dangers of local government. Considered at best impractical, secession is regarded as a peculiarly Southern resistance to modernisation, it only because of official history texts generally omit any account of the first secessionist movement after the American Revolution, which centred in early nineteenth century New England.

Because slavery and racial segregation were formerly justified on the basis of states' rights to regulate internal affairs, even constitutionally sanctioned local powers are tainted in the popular mind with racism. Since the June, 1986 Supreme Court ruling that Georgia's rights — a Southern state being again used to promote a bad example — include the power to ban sodomy, state governments are probably considered by the national media and its audience to be sexist as well.

A couple of years ago I tried to estimate local sentiment by sending short questionnaires on self-addressed postcards to makers of car window decals, souvenirs, and flags. I thought increased sales of these items might show increased Texas patriotism. Responses weren't encouraging; the best came from Fort Worth's Armstrong Western Fotocolor reporting sales unchanged. The Baxter Lane Company of Amarillo replied, in 1984, that "sales of these items have declined in the past several years."

POSTIVE FINDS

A closer look showed the problem to be circumstantial and led to positive finds showing that Texas and small nation sentiment were increasing. The Iranian Crisis had brought a surge in sales of American over state flags. Window decals, souvenirs, and postcards — usually farcical representation of Texas stereotypes — were mainly for tourists, whose numbers had declined with rising fuel costs. Window decals tend to obstruct visibility and were yielding to bumperstickers.

During the 1970s, Gryphon Enterprises in Austin began a line of bumperstickers and other products bearing the word "SECEDE" embedded in the Texas flag that remain popular statewide. While cheap souvenirs declined, companies like Frank Whaley, Inc., of Corpus Christi now produce finely made, artistic postcards even natives can be proud to send.

National media have since taken an increasingly sympathetic, even scholarly approach to Texas history and culture, perhaps inspired in part by the Institute of Texan Cultures established during San Antonio's 1968 world fair, known as HemisFair. Texas' 1986 sesquicentennial has resurrected a good deal of pride (and inspired several science fiction

Non-Violent Secession

novels featuring an independent Texas Republic). In March, 1986 A. & M. University's Texas Poll published the results of a survey showing that a fifth of Texans feel we'd have been better off not to have joined the United States.

STUPID & LAZY

There are, alas, negative factors involved that largely stem from the behaviour of emigrants from depressed Northern states and lack of local economic diversity. Someone from Indiana or Michigan will inevitably, and with a smirk of joy, explain to a Southerner that all people here are stupid, lazy, and ill educated and that this is the world's most unpleasant and backward region. He or she may ask questions about climate or geography, generally responding that native's answers are wrong.

Like as not, such a person will launch into a tirade against segregation, which ended here thirty years and more ago, though places like Chicago, Illinois and Dayton, Ohio remain torn by racial strife. (So well have Southerners handled racism that Alabama's former segregationist governor, George Wallace, was favoured in his last campaign by most of that state's black voters.) I've heard it all so often I could almost recite it, complete with Yankee accent and intonations, like a litany.

But this, if they and big media will see it, is an opportunity to engage in the same deep soul searching and personal evaluation that has been repeatedly forced upon the South and West, an opportunity to free people in the North from the hollowness of defining their virtues and traditions almost wholly in terms of others' supposed faults and, in the process, to free us all from the statist manipulations that perpetuate century-old bad feelings. In this light, I began to find it hard not to sympathise with these victims of the same system.

UNDERBIDDING

Nevertheless, I also saw how the Texan immigrants' economic effects surpassed those of their bad manners — after all, they were taught contempt for Southerners by a regional government that historically identifies with the Federal. Once a Northerner gets a high position in municipal, country, or state civil service or in an industry in Texas he or she tends to hire from out of state and often arranges for Northern corporations to underbid others on business contracts.

Such practices are protected by the Constitution's "Full Faith and Credit" clause compelling states to consider the citizens of all other states as equal to their own (surely such abuse was not the intention of its authors), which can disguise the prejudiced hiring that ignores Southerners, especially the 60 percent of South Texans who are Hispanic. Once hired, a contractor often employs local workers only in menial jobs, save for token individuals on whom blame will fall by tradition for any racism.

Their projects are often useless for local purposes. According to Channel 3, KIII TV, in June, 1986, Corpus Christi, Texas had many large empty buildings, built to serve no area need. These were constructed by Northern emigrants who hired Northern companies to do the work in order to transfer wealth back to their home region without benefit to us. With the dropping oil prices, conditions deteriorated due to this victimisation, added to lack of diversity in an economy geared, in expectation of reciprocal benefits from other sections under central control, mainly to oil and cattle.

LOCAL POWER

So the search for local patriotism led me to see the cultural, the historical, and the economic aspects of my subject. That the United States' Supreme Court subtly undermines regional and state loyalties, for example, by basing its bigoted decisions on states' rights and its tolerant

Non-Violent Secession

and benevolent ones on Federal law. The reasons for other national actions became clear. In 1986 President Reagan announced that despite South Africa's insistence its native homelands were independant nations, he would neither recognise nor deal with them as such. The real reason, of course, has nothing to do with the natives' race, but rather with the fact that to do so would imply similar status to North American Indians' reservations, strengthening local and weakening central power.

The media's role, too, became clear. When the *Corpus Christi Caller* published the Texas Poll's press release on 7 April, 1986 it used the headline "3 out of 4 Texans Like Statehood," while the original heading reads, "Nearly 1 Texan in 5 Thinks Texas Should Have Remained a Republic."

Those who do not live in the United States or Canada can gain an idea of the effects of this kind of ploy by imagining a situation in which the French, suffering an economic setback, might send people to England to build useless projects whose purpose is to employ French companies and transfer English money across the Channel without benefitting the host country. Or, consider a situation in which people from Rumania or Iceland, educated to look down on the English and their ways, cannot be kept from going to that island and openly insulting everyone and everything yet cannot be expelled or even criticised for it because the English media cater to and favour them.

Life with one's fate in the hands of persons having little stake in one's self or community is not a healthy situation. Unfortunately, it is part and parcel of being integrated into an empire or even a strong confederation. It is frustrating and angering . . . and these are the very emotions that, if acted upon without forethought and consideration, seem to outsiders to justify outside interference.

My efforts, I hope, might show persons in developed nations lacking widespread understanding of the need to keep or regain local control how to begin peaceful change. Ideas, once expressed, can easily develop and spread. The trick is to avoid the destructiveness of violent revolution, but move the trend of thought smoothly in a healthy direction.

THE NEARER COMMUNITY

Even in the absence of media support constructive action begins with appreciation of regional history and sociology. This means not accepting negative or degrading stereotypes of one's group or geographic affiliation, which can mean having become aware of one's habitual submission to them.

This leads inevitably to an appreciation of the politics of one's city, county, and state, which most immediately affect the quality of our lives even as parts of a larger entity, since to disguise the bigger government it is through these channels that imperial largesse or repression usually reaches us. Thus knowledge of one's community is genuine self-knowledge of the kind that allows people to see and overcome faults like racism — as Southerners know — or ecological abuse.

The economic exploitation in these examples, and the outcome of Quebec's last plebiscite on separatism, which was rejected because of propaganda for the supposed economic advantages of federation that are in fact the disadvantages discussed in this essay, also make clear the need for development of resources in ways that neither destroy one's immediate environment nor allow them to be exploited for the use of others.

Seeing the reality of oneself beyond the prejudices and preconceived notions that statist media so readily supply, is the key to this. Taking an interest in the machinery and the issues of one's nearer community makes possible constructive efforts that are in line with acceptable politics and yet also enhance local power over local matters and enhance local economic strength. ■

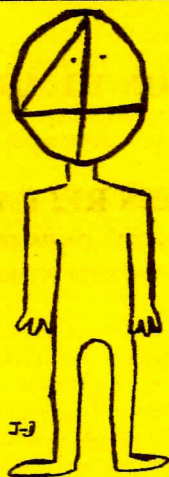
FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit

1988

NUMBER TWENTY FIVE

£1 \$2



Notice:	SEVENTH ASSEMBLY PRESS RELEASE	2
Editorial:	A BIG STEP BACKWARD	3
Notice:	DON'T FORGET CHERNOBYL	5
Feature:	Israel's Tactical Error — PROF. LEOPOLD KOHR	6
Excerpt:	The Amazon Rain Forest — JOSÉ A. LUTZENBERGER	7
Feature:	The Bio Region & Ourselves II — PETER BERG	8
	Fourth World Activism — DAVID C. MORROW	10
	Common Ownership — JAMES OGBORN	12
	A Non-Electoral Party — HERB FOSTER	13
Letters:	ROBERT POWELL, JUBAL STUCKI, PETER ETHERDEN, PAUL BOIZOT, MARGARET CHISMAN, JAMES D. WYKEN & MARY ANNE KUNKEL	15
Books:	<i>The Neal's Yard Story</i> by NICHOLAS ALBERRY & CHRISTINE MILLS; <i>Ghandi Today</i> by MARK SHEPARD; <i>Review</i> by JOHN PAPWORTH	19
Feature:	A Post Tombola Society — PETER CADOGAN	21
Column:	FOURTH WORLD SPECTATOR	23

FOURTH WORLD ACTIVISM

A LITTLE HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS

David C. Morrow

Small government advocates in Second and Third World countries can face physical repression in the form of confiscations, arrest, kidnapping, murder. Authorities may use separatist and reductionist sentiment as excuses to attack all citizens' rights. Reformers may respond with terrorist acts or armed rebellions that defeat the goal of peaceful change.

Nevertheless, where there are persistent claims for human rights and national or ethnic identity, outside forces come into play. The United States will pressure the Soviet Union to back off from what the latter considers legitimate actions, as in Afghanistan, while the reverse happens over Nicaragua. European countries may side against either or both while working for national interests or continental unification.

This dangerous game is somewhat mitigated by the United Nations, which can influence even superpowers' treatment of minorities. Native peoples in America, Australia, and elsewhere have appealed for UN help with whatever state has usurped their destinies; native South Africans have appealed as well to other Commonwealth members plus the latter's allies and enemies.

But what about less obvious or "official" nationalities? For example, predominantly White, English speaking North Americans who prefer decentralization, small government, local culture and identity? The UN and traditional liberals remain too caught up in the anti-colonial wave and too dependent on First World funding to see that not all culturally damaged and repressed peoples are non-White, use non-Indoeuropean tongues, or are culturally alien to the dominant groups.

Despite its Constitution, for example, the United States seeks to preserve a strongly centralized government by manipulating the media and attacking critics in subtle ways. When an article of mine indicting its judiciary for fomenting child abuse appeared in 1986 in *The Truth*, a pro-family newspaper published (briefly) in Kansas, the Inland Revenue Service suddenly "discovered" that I owed some \$400 in back taxes. During the 1960s and since, American anti-marijuana laws have been enforced against critics of government, while the 1987 culling of potential presidential candidates by scandal mongering is another dimension of the appeal to morality to retain popular support for those in power.

A good response is morality. Though publications can help, the United States' controlled media curtails the spread of information and smears opponents as unpatriotic or, when they have popular support, as "sick." Western countries have supported the United Nations and the rights of Second World minorities to appeal to it; grudgingly they have to admit the rights of "native" peoples within their own borders.

The appeal of other groups to the United Nations against the sly repressions of Western empires will have likewise to be accepted. The United States will be forced to grapple with the demand that UN officials examine tax records and the behaviour of IRS agents whenever there is a question as to whether taxes are used to harass separatists, small government advocates, and others. The possibility will loom of peacekeeping forces being demanded by secessionists.

The first benefit will be the widespread recognition of the Fourth World movement by the general public. While others will not particularly care for it in their own realms, they will delight in the possibility of division within their supposed, sometimes actual, oppressors. This can bring more solid support. On the other hand, the United States,

Canada, and other continental empires will have to admit the validity of internal divisions and differences among their majority populations or deny legality to the United Nations' advocacy of minorities within their enemies. A Federal government that advocates Soviet Jews' rights will have to admit Southerners' rights to their distinctive dialect and customs.

All of this can be done without a shot fired. First world countries will have to quit discouraging awareness of local sentiment to remain autonomous and, by their own rules, moral. Some may come to see division as a way of ridding themselves of voting blocs or regions of opposition and "foreign" influence, than of getting more representation in the World Federation.

This will not necessarily be the road to totalitarian world government under the United Nations, which seems to me a real danger, since newly created states cannot now be forced to relinquish sovereignty to it. On the other hand, remnants of the larger empires may secede from the UN out of spite, reducing further its power.

Thus the Fourth World might begin petitioning the United Nations to recognize Quebec Separatists, Scottish Nationalists, secessionists in the United States, and other such groups alongside representatives of Tibetan Nationalists, American Indians, and Australian Aborigines. And actively contributing funds to the UN for the purpose. This would be the start of a quiet campaign that can lay the legal groundwork for the world we are seeking to build. ■

FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit

1988

NUMBER TWENTY SEVEN

£1 \$2



House Notice:	THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY	2
Editorial:	GREEN PHILOSOPHY?	3
Feature:	The Curse Of Patriarchy — THOMAS BERRY	6
	Someone Must Start To Stop — RUDOLF BAHRO	8
	The Future Of The Home — WILLIAM N. SHEPHERD	11
	Proposal For A New Party — PETER CADOGAN	13
	With A Response From John Papworth	15
	The Rise Of Urbanisation — MURRAY BOOKCHIN	16
	The Human Scale — ALFRED F. ANDERSON	18
Letters:	MARK SHEPHERD, DR. P. ffyske HOWDEN, NICHOLAS ALBERY & MARGIE EUCALYPTUS	22
Books:	Fluoride In Australia — WENDY VARNEY, Free Trade — OLIVER SMEDLEY, Future Workshops — ROBERT JUNGK & NORBERT MULLERT, Opening The Mind's Eye — MARGARET CHISMAN	24
Feature:	Off Carrots! — MARY CROWTHER	25
	The Dead Hand Of Empire — DAVID C. MORROW	27
Column:	FOURTH WORLD SPECTATOR	29
Quote:	Culture & The Family — T. S. ELIOT	31

THE DEAD HAND OF EMPIRE

David C. Morrow

ARE EMPIRES EVER NECESSARY?

Sometimes theoretical discussion is needed to reveal hidden biases that interfere with practical social and political action. One of the most prevalent and insidious is a falsehood historians spread through genuine conviction, unconsidered imitation, or for statist propaganda, that big government, if not empires, are necessary to the growth of civilization. The fallacy may be obvious to some of us, but a majority even of educated people accept it uncritically.

Imperia alone, these historians teach, can effectively spread higher culture, insure commerce, administer justice, and allow multitudes to communicate and share ideas. Empires defend their members and aid them in times of crisis, when small or decentralized states cannot. Yet it is possible to show by historical examples that such huge organizations are not only unnecessary to accomplish these things, but can interfere with them.

The very processes of empire building foster dangers outside a culture. Ironically, whatever stage of imperialism under which people suffer, they are especially vulnerable to having their freedom and lifeways destroyed by alien invaders. Empire making generates hatred and anger; the Aztecs' ongoing conquest of Mexico left native foes eager to join the Spanish against them. Thus millions came under utterly foreign control, with another culture grafted onto what remained of theirs. A like situation obtained among Alexander's heirs, who, weakened by trying to resurrect his empire, fell to Rome and Parthia; and eighteenth century India, which, torn with conflicts over succession to Mughal power, fell to Britain.

HABITUAL SUBMISSION

A fully developed centralized state that has its citizens cowed into obedience to distant authority creates no less the conditions for their debasement and loss of distinctness. Egypt, long centralized and bureaucratized, came under the successive dominance of Persian, Ptolemy, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, as each in turn seized the throne, pilot of government machinery, and people followed in habitual submission to rulers with no interest in their welfare. The Inca Empire, which controlled peoples by uprooting and resettling them to destroy local loyalties, provided invading Europeans a built in infrastructure to use in taking South America's most civilized realms.

By contrast, decentralization can preserve and extend a culture. T.V. Gamrelidze and V.V. Ivanov wrote in an article on Indo-European origins (*Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Spring/Summer 1985) that "If there had been a centralized state organization... such vast migrations of the Indo-European tribes from the original areas of their settlement would not have occurred." Although their point raises such questions as what Europe's earlier peoples might have accomplished, it shows how statism can blight cultural development and diversity at the root.

In *A Basic History of Germany*, zu Lowenstein shows how German culture was saved during its turbulent history by division into many cultural centres that "preserved the country from the danger of a sterilizing centralism," and even underlay its swift recovery from both World Wars. We are all familiar with the division of ancient Greece into many states, each of which waxed brilliant after its style, yet all of which repeatedly resisted Persian armies outnumbering theirs twenty to one. Edward Gibbon held that Europe's post-Roman splintering prevented the rise of tyrants after the fashion of the emperors because each king was but one ruler among rivals with whom opponents could find easy sanctuary.

The fragmented Islamic states, despite their sometime desire to resurrect the Medieval Empire, have been able to preserve their cultural identity: persons who fled Spain's Reconquista found sanctuary in Africa; Mongol and Crusader alike laid waste but a portion of Islam. Today, though Saudi wealth doesn't *ex facto* enrich Sudan, neither does Afghanistan's misery ruin Morocco.

Are big states needed to spread higher culture? Many examples disprove it. The phonetic alphabet reached Europe not through conquest but via Phoenician merchants, doubtless along with many other elements such as the science of geometry. Similarly, before their defeat, the Cherokee of the American Southeast saw the value of the White's written language and devised one of their own. Long before World War II the Japanese adopted their own initiative those elements of Western culture they found useful, much as the Navajo purposefully took farming from Pueblos, herding and metallurgy from Spanish and Mexicans, and other elements from Americans with little distortion of their own ways.

MONGOLINGUALISM

One of the worst sins of historians of the Imperial school is the requirement of denying the creativity of any others than their favoured group (and depriving us of the benefits of others' achievements) despite the fact that highly developed and literate civilizations have arisen independently among different peoples. Far from bringing civilization to Celtic regions like Gaul, the Romans, archaeological evidence shows, simply smashed an advanced indigenous culture and tried to replace it with their own. United States history books, till recently, described their continent — for millenia the home of many varied and gifted peoples — as "empty" or a "wilderness" till Europeans arrived.

Science and industry, at least in their inception, are not helped by vast states with all their resources and media: time and again enormous realms reached, remained on, and retreated from the verge of scientific revolution. Perhaps the very size and social inertia of the Roman and Chinese Empires, the colossal realms of Persia, prevented full development of intellectual inquiry into nature. Science reached fruition only in Ionia's city states, in divided Modern Europe, and their cultural heirs.

It is not so, either, that mongolingualism promotes progress, peace (if it did there wouldn't be civil wars), or that without a universal tongue culture and the quality of life deteriorate. Where there is a need to communicate across language barriers, a way will be found. Medieval Europeans continued to use Latin even as their national vernaculars evolved. English allows the government of India to function while native tongues flourish. Among pre-conquest Americans there were trade languages such as Mobilian in the southeast and sign language on the plains. In these cases native tongues were not discarded.

States can, but do not necessarily, protect their citizens. Historian David Biale has pointed out in *Power and Powerlessness* that Jews were persecuted rarely when they lived in self governing communities but often when the emerging modern state sought control over every aspect of life. Justice is not always served because (as Gibbon pointed out) there is no immediate place to which to flee unjust authority or with which to compare one's situation. Ultimately there is no new authority within one realm.

UNNECESSARY

While it is true that an absence of barriers can mean a swift reapportionment of necessities during natural disasters, as bureaucracy grows injustice multiplies. The shabbiness of Soviet production exemplifies this. And although Ethiopia is ostensibly part of the world wide Socialist organization, member nations aren't helping in the midst of its ongoing famine. The failure of any part of so massive and centralized an economic edifice drags down the rest, and Communist leaders know it especially well.

ctd. from p.28

Kinross has shown that while European nations were immeasurably enriched by looted American treasures or the stimulation of neighbours who had them, the result in the huge Central Asian empires with whom they traded, despite the latter's power, was a progressive devaluation of coinage and increasing inflation over precisely those vast regions that later fell before Western armies.

There exists abundant evidence that historian's loyalty to the superstate ideal is an error, but is there any example to show that an emphasis on the opposite might bear fruit? In his 1968 study of the development of Brazilian identity, *Nationalism in Brazil*, E. Bradford-Burns shows intellectuals' and writers' role in partly inventing that identity and making the people aware they were not European despite their genetic heritage. By the end of the 18th Century citizens identified themselves as Brazilian rather than Portuguese. Thereafter Brazil accomplished one of history's more peaceful separations, becoming the Kingdom of Brazil in 1815, headed by a member of the Portuguese royal family.

A major task for decentralist writers, then, is to discover such examples, refine theories using them, and make them popularly accessible. This is necessary not just to help build practical methods, but to convince that great number of people who need to be shown, not that big government is inconvenient and dangerous — they already know that — but that contrary to what they have been led to believe, it not only isn't inevitable but is and always has been unnecessary. ■

FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

(Incorporating Green Options)

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit



1989

NUMBER THIRTY TWO

£1 \$2

Notices:	FOURTH WORLD ASSEMBLIES	2
Editorial:	MISCHIEF, THOU ART AFOOT!	3
Quote:	E. F. SCHUMACHER — 'Good Work'	6
Feature:	Trees, Cataclysm, Teachers & Tat — JOHN SEYMOUR	7
	Findhorn Today — REVD. DONALD REEVES	9
	Reinventing the Human — JAMES BERRY	12
Letters:	PAULINE WHERLE, BOB FINCH, R.C. EVANS, MICHAEL WALKER, STEVE WALL, BRIAN TOKAR, JULIA JEWELS, SEFREDO, DENYS WHITEHEAD, ANTON PINSCHOF, A.M.C. PIG	15
Special Feature:	ALTERNATIVE ROUNDUP. Green London, New Humanity, Margin, Annals of The Earth, Green Synthesis, The Catholic Worker, Green Perspectives, Green Line, Common Ground, Peace News, The Elmwood Newsletter, Peace & Security, The Survivor House, Britain, ifda dossier, The Ecologist, Housman's Peace Diary, Samizdat, Wessex Research Group Network, Integral, Centrepont, Social Inventions, Utne Reader, New Options, Manas, Simply Living, Transnational Perspectives, Relationships, Kick It Over, Friends Of The Trees	18-22
Books:	'Alternative Americas' by ANNE NORTON & 'Alternative Americas' by MILDRED JENSEN LOOMIS, both reviewed by DAVID C. MORROW. 'The Green Alternative' ed. PETER BUNYARD & FERN MORGAN-GRENVILLE, reviewed by MARK KINZLEY. 'The Emergence Of Life' by SIDNEY FOX, reviewed by PROF. RICHARD SCORER. 'The Ages Of Gaia' by JAMES LOVELOCK, reviewed by ALBERT BEALE (with acknowledgements to PEACE NEWS).	22
Column:	FOURTH WORLD AMAZONIAN SPECTATOR	26

BOOKS



ALTERNATIVE AMERICAS by Anne Norton

The University of Chicago Press, London and Chicago, 1986
\$24.95 US. *Reviewed by David C. Morrow.*

Not to be confused with Mildred Loomis' book of the same title, this *Alternative Americas* is a study of American society and history up to the War between the States that examines its subject not as the evolution of a monolithic imperial entity, but as the development of three local varieties of Euro-American culture. Of these three, Northern, Southern and Western, the first two met in a civil conflict whose participants — rightly in Norton's view — saw it as a repetition of the English Civil War.

What is useful for us is that it shows the development of local varieties of culture, their flowering and their differences, and the intrinsic flaw in one, the Yankee, that tainted it with the imperial ideal. It is a study in the growth of a centralist ideology that seizes upon unwilling opponents' weaknesses, in this case slavery, and uses them at that point when they would anyway have disappeared as an excuse for aggression.

Rather than taking the Northern culture as the measure and standard of North American civilisation, Norton shows that, slavery aside, Southern culture more nearly approached the revolutionary ideals of 1776, that such statist factors as women's oppression, genocide of Indians, and total warfare were Yankee inventions. So, I might

add, is the bizarre trait that makes the United States go through those periods of soul searching that result in the undoing of its most fervent acts.

As a negative, Norton's book ignores that great and vital "alternative America", Canada, with its own conflict of Anglo and French, and the smaller republics born on the frontier, such as the Bear Republic of California, that were quickly swallowed up. Norton, it seems, despite her achievement in objectivity, still identifies America with the states that won the War of 1861-1865.

Nevertheless, as a study of centralisation and cultural imperialism in a well known modern context, familiar from history and story, Norton's book is as yet unsurpassed.

ALTERNATIVE AMERICAS by Mildred J. Loomis

Universe Books, New York, 1982. \$7.95. *Reviewed by David C. Morrow*

This book, not to be confused with Anne Norton's work of the same title, is a brief, personal, and totally readable sketch of the development of American decentralist thought.

To many members of the Fourth World it, or at least its subjects, certainly need no introduction. To persons such as myself, who achieved a decentralist outlook through personal experience and only later discovered its roots — overt and covert — it is a revelation of another hidden dimension of American history.

In this case, the hidden dimension is the development of decentralism that has been a consistent and largely obscured part of the development of North America. And despite its appearance of monolithitis, America is shot through with diversity and differences and quiet localised developments.

FOURTH WORLD REVIEW

(Incorporating Green Options)

For Small Nations, Small Communities & The Human Spirit



1989

NUMBER THIRTY THREE

£1 \$2

Notice:	Eighth Assembly of The Fourth World	2
Editorial:	CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED	3
Quote:	Human Monkeys — DENNIS NIGHTINGALE-SMITH	6
Feature:	'Deep' Or 'Human' Ecology? — PETER CADOGAN	7
	The U.S. Green Movement— LORNA SALZMAN	9
	The Great Debate (Cont) — MURRAY BOOKCHIN	11
Poem:	An Owl Breaks The Silence — ADAM HOROVITZ	13
Letters:	PAUL SCHAEFER, BRUCE MacKENZIE, JOHN IGGULDEN, MARK KINZLEY, LAURA PIERCE & MICHAEL KOLODNY, GERRY ADLARD, POWELL, CHARLES HUBBARD, NICHOLAS ALBERY & DAVID MORROW	14
Books:	'Land Of Lost Content' by ROBERT REID, reviewed by JOHN PAPWORTH.	18
	'The Green Guide to England' by JOHN BUTTON, reviewed by DAVID NICHOLSON-LORD.	20
	'Developed To Death' by TED TRAINER, reviewed by DAVID NICHOLSON-LORD.	21
	'A.B.C. The Alphabetization Of The Human Mind' by IVAN ILLICH & BARRY SAUNDERS, reviewed by KARL BIRJUKOV.	22
Feature:	Lifestyle Alternatives — TED TRAINER	24
Column:	FOURTH WORLD SPECTATOR	27
Endpiece:	POSTSCRIPT	32

BEER

Not to say I told them so, but before the end of January Canada's major breweries, Molson and Carling O'Keefe, have announced a merger that will result in the closing of seven plants throughout Canada and the loss of 1400 jobs. According to Cable News Network this has proven necessary to meet the demands of the United States market without going under. Plans are afoot to eliminate laws requiring beer sold in a Province to be brewed there, and whatever the anticipated benefits to brewers, the result will be the loss of jobs in most Provinces and thus of living standards to give one or two of them — and especially the United States — most of the income from beer sales. And what of more vital industries than beer? We will see.

David Morrow, Corpus Christi, Texas USA 78415